

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 PEKING 2085

NODIS

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TAGS: OREP CH US

SUBJ: TRANSCRIPT OF CODEL WOLFF MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO PING

A DELEGATION CONSISTING OF SEVEN CONGRESSMEN  
HEADED BY CONGRESSMAN WOLFF MET WITH VICE PREMIER  
TENG HSIAO-PING FOR 90 MINUTES JULY 9 AT THE GREAT  
HALL OF THE PEOPLE. THE MEETING WAS ALSO ATTENDED  
BY HAO TE-CHING, PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S  
INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA), VICE FOREIGN  
MINSTER WANG HAI-JUNG, CPIFA OFFICIALS HSIEH LI AND  
FAN KUO-HSIANG, MFA AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN AFFAIRS  
DEPUTY DIRECTOR CHU CHI-CHEN, AND AMBASSADOR WOODCOCK.  
THE TRANSCRIPT WHICH FOLLOWS HAS BEEN SEEN IN DRAFT  
BY CONGRESSMAN WOLFF.

TENG: I BELIEVE YOU HAVE ALREADY COME ONCE TO  
CHINA IN 1976.

WOLFF: YES, CONGRESSMAN BURKE AND I CAME AT THAT TIME.

TENG: IS IT THE FIRST VISIT FOR THE OTHERS?

WOLFF: YES, IT IS.

TENG: YOU WERE FORTUNATE AT THAT TIME TO MEET ONE OF  
THE MOST NOTORIOUS PERSONS IN CHINA - CHANG CHUN-CHIAO.

WOLFF: I THINK IT WAS IN THIS VERY ROOM.

TENG: CHANG CHUN-CHIAO WAS SUCH A REMARKABLE PERSON

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THAT THE GANG OF FOUR CREATED A CHANG CHUN-CHIAO  
THEORY TO REPLACE MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT.

WOLFF: AFTER HAVING MET CHANG CHUN-CHIAO WE NEVER  
THOUGHT THAT WE WOULD HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET  
YOU.

TENG: I AM A NEWSMAKER. IT IS A PITY THAT YOU ARE  
NOT GOING TO MEET AS FAMOUS A PERSON AS CHANG CHUN-

CHIAO, ONLY AN OLD SOLDIER. I SPENT HALF OF MY LIFE  
IN WAR.

WOLFF: THERE IS TOO MUCH WAR IN THE WORLD.

TENG: WE FOUGHT FOR ABOUT 22 YEARS. IN THE END WE  
FOUNDED THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. HAVE YOU HAD  
A PLEASANT STAY HERE IN CHINA?

WOLFF: YES, VERY MUCH SO. ON BEHALF OF MY COLLEAGUES  
I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR THE VERY PLEASANT  
RECEPTION WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY THE OFFICIALS OF YOUR  
COUNTRY. I THINK I HAVE NOTICED A CHANGE IN RELATIONS  
BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES SINCE MY LAST VISIT HERE.

TENG: IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO HAVE THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO MEET YOU. IT DOES NOT MATTER IF WE  
DIFFER ON CERTAIN MATTERS DURING OUR EXCHANGE OF  
VIEWS. SOME MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US IS  
BETTER THAN NO UNDERSTANDING AT ALL. IN 1975 WHEN  
I WAS IN CHARGE OF THE DAY TO DAY WORK OF THE GOVERN-  
MENT I MET MANY AMERICAN FRIENDS. AMONG THEM WERE  
MANY US CONGRESSMEN. I ALSO RECEIVED DR. KISSINGER  
AND PRESIDENT FORD. I ALSO MET MR. NIXON WHO IS VERY  
MUCH DISCREDITED IN THE US BUT WILL BE REMEMBERED  
BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE. IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES  
WE FACE THE SAME PROBLEMS. IT IS IMPORTANT TO ENHANCE  
OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TO SEEK THE BASIS FOR OUR  
COMMON EFFORTS. WE ARE READY TO LISTEN TO THE  
DIFFERENT VIEWS AND IDEAS OF AMERICAN POLITICIANS.  
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AS YOU KNOW, WE ALSO PREFER TO SPEAK OUR MINDS  
CANDIDLY. YOU KNOW THAT I AM AN OLD SOLDIER. I  
BELIEVE THAT MANY OF YOU HAVE ALSO BEEN SOLDIERS.  
WOLFF: I AM STILL A FLYER.

TENG: REALLY? YOU ARE IN YOUR 60S AND CAN STILL FLY?  
WOLFF: OH, YES.

TENG: THEN YOU ARE IN VERY GOOD HEALTH. I BELIEVE  
SOME OF THE OTHERS WERE ALSO SOLDIERS.

RANGEL: SOME OF US PREFER TO FORGET OUR MILITARY  
EXPERIENCES, SUCH AS IN KOREA.

TENG: I DON'T THINK YOU SHOULD FORGET COMPLETELY.  
ANGEL: THAT'S IMPOSSIBLE.

TENG: IT IS BETTER TO FORGET CERTAIN MATTERS LIKE THE  
ADVANCE OF US TROOPS TO THE YALU RIVER. THESE  
MATTERS ARE BETTER TO FORGET. BUT THE MILITARY  
QUESTION IS STILL A VERY REAL ONE. I WILL BE  
PLEASED TO HEAR WORDS OF WISDOM FROM ALL OF YOU, SO WE  
CAN EXCHANGE OUR VIEWS FREELY.

WOLFF. WE ARE NOT WISE MEN, ONLY REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE PEOPLE. PERHAPS WE CAN ECHO THE VIEWS OF OUR  
PEOPLE. WE CAME HERE TO FIND WAYS AND MEANS OF HOW  
WE AS NATIONS AND PEOPLE CAN COME TOGETHER.

AMBASSADOR HAO AND I HAD A LONG DISCUSSION THE OTHER DAY ABOUT THE AREAS WHERE WE HAVE DIFFERENCES AND AREAS WHERE WE CAN COME TOGETHER. I THINK THERE ARE MANY MORE THINGS THAT WE AGREE UPON THAN THERE ARE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK, IF THE VICE PREMIER WOULD CARE TO COMMENT: WHEN SECRETARY VANCE WAS HERE AND HELD DISCUSSIONS, AFTERWARDS THERE WERE INDICATIONS THAT SOME MATTERS WERE NOT SATISFACTORY TO THE VICE PREMIER. THE RECENT VISIT BY DR. BRZEZINSKI, HOWEVER, WAS GREETED WITH APPROBATION BY YOUR GOVERNMENT. DO YOU THINK THAT THE BRZEZINSKI VISIT REPRESENTED PROGRESS IN OUR RELATIONS WHICH EXCEEDED THAT OF THE VISIT BY SECRETARY VANCE? WHAT ARE THE AREAS WE CAN PURSUE MORE CLOSELY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 5 PEKING 2085

NODIS

AS A RESULT OF THE BRZEZINSKI VISIT?  
TENG: I CAN TELL YOU THAT WE EXPRESSED OUR CONSISTENT VIEWS TO BOTH VANCE AND BRZEZINSKI. I ALSO NOTICED THAT THE VIEWS OF THE USG EXPRESSED BY MR. VANCE AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ARE THE SAME. THAT IS, THE US IS COMMITTED TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. THE RESULT OF BOTH TALKS IS THE SAME, NAMELY, THAT BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE EFFORTS TOWARD THIS END, BUT THERE WAS NO SUBSTANTIAL RESULT FROM THE

VISITS. MY IMPRESSION MAY NOT BE CORRECT BECAUSE THEY TOOK PLACE SOME MONTHS AGO -- YOU CAN CONFIRM THIS AND TELL US WHETHER THE USGOVERNMENT IS NOW MORE ACTIVE IN THIS RESPECT. WE WILL WELCOME MORE ACTIVE EFFORTS ON THE PART OF THE USG. AS TO WHAT WILL ACTUALLY HAPPEN, THAT DEPENDS ON THE EFFORTS OF BOTH SIDES. AS FOR THE CHINESE SIDE, WE WILL WATCH TO SEE WHAT ACTION THE U TAKES. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS WHAT WE CALL A SMALL ELEMENT. AS I SAID EARLIER, WE EXPLAINED THE SAME VIEWS TO SECRETARY VANCE, BUT THEN AFTERWARDS WHEN HE WAS IN TOKYO HE STATED THAT CHINA HAD RELAXED ITS POSITION ON THIS QUESTION, THAT THERE WAS SOME FLEXIBILITY ON CHINA'S SIDE. THIS IS THE ONLY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO VISITS AND IT IS GONE. WE ALSO HAD VERY GOOD TALKS

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WITH SECRETARY VANCE BECAUSE WE SHARE THE SAME DESIRES. AS YOU STATED, OUR TWO SIDES SHARE MANY AREAS IN COMMON. TO BE EXACT, HOW TO COPE WITH THE POLAR BEAR. THERE ARE MANY COMMON EFFORTS THAT WE CAN MAKE AND WE CAN COORDINATE IN MANY WAYS. THE DIFFERENCE AND THE OBSTACLE TO NORMALIZATION IS THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN. I THINK WE CAN SIT DOWN TOGETHER AND TALK THIS QUESTION OUT. OUR POSITION IS CLEAR-CUT. THIS IS A MATTER WHICH CONCERNS THE REUNIFICATION OF A COUNTRY AND ALSO INVOLVES STATE SOVEREIGNTY. ON SUCH MATTERS THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT CANNOT GO AGAINST THE WILL OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER WE CAN DRAW THE CONCLUSION THAT THE USG COMPOSED OF SUCH PEOPLE AS VANCE AND BRZEZINSKI IS NOW MORE ACTIVE ON THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION. WE HOPE IT WILL BE MORE ACTIVE. I BELIEVE WE AS WELL AS YOU WILL HAVE A MORE ACTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD SETTLING THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. THERE IS A NEED FOR THIS BECAUSE THERE ARE COMPELLING CIRCUMSTANCES. THE SOVIETS ARE TAKING NAKED ACTION AROUND THE WORLD. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN RECENT MONTHS IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF SEVERAL MONTHS AGO. THERE ARE THE QUESTIONS OF ETHIOPIA, ZAIRE, SOUTH YEMEN, AFGHANISTAN AND VIETNAM. ALL OF THESE POSE PROBLEMS TO US AND I THINK ALSO TO YOU.

WOLFF: BOTH OF US.

TENG: THE SOVIETS CONFRONT NOT ONLY OUR TWO COUNTRIES BUT ALSO ALL OTHER COUNTRIES INCLUDING THOSE IN ASIA, AFRICA AND EVEN LATIN AMERICA. IN LATIN AMERICA THERE IS CUBA RIGHT UNDER YOUR NOSE.

WOLFF: WE KNOW.

TENG: I THINK YOU KNOW MUCH BETTER THAN I DO. I HOPE THAT THE US GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING PRESIDENT CARTER,

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DR. BRZEZINSKI AND SECRETARY VANCE WILL TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ATTITUDE ON THIS MATTER. WE HAVE THIS DESIRE AND WE HOPE YOU CAN BE QUICKER. IN OUR EARNEST EFFORTS TO COPE WITH THE POLAR BEAR IN OUR GLOBAL STRATEGY, NORMALIZATION IS A VERY IMPORTANT STEP AND SO IS THE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH JAPAN. WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA MET MR. VANCE HE GAVE A MESSAGE FROM PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG TO PRESIDENT CARTER IN THIS REGARD. MR HUANG ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO MEET PRESIDENT CARTER WHEN HE WAS IN NEW YORK BUT THERE WAS NO TIME. THE MESSAGE IS THAT NORMALIZATION IS NOT A QUESTION OF DIPLOMACY BUT A POLITICAL QUESTION. WE STILL HOLD THIS VIEW. WE MUST LOOK AT AND HANDLE THIS QUESTION IN LIGHT OF THE OVERALL INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND IN A STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE. WOLFF: I WONDER IF YOU COUL TELL US HOW YOU DISTINGUISH BETWEEN POLLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC. DOES IT MEAN THAT WE CAN PROCEED IMEDIATELY TO POLITICAL NORMALIZATION AND PERMIT DIPLOMATIC NORMALIZATION TO PROCEED AT ITS OWN PACE? TENG: IN DIPLOMACY THERE IS A LOT OF EMPTY TALK. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO TAKE ACTUAL ACTION. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A DIPLOMAT? WOLFF: YOU KNOW I AM NOT A DIPLOMAT. TENG: I THINK THERE ARE ONLY TWO DIPLOMATS PRESENT IN THE ROOM. WOLFF: I WOULD PUT AMBASSADOR WOODCOCK ABOVE THE LEVEL OF A DIPLOMAT. TENG: I AGREE. I HAVE MET HIM MANY TIMES. I DIDN'T MEAN TO SAY THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DIPLOMATS BUT I THINK THAT A GOOD DIPLOMAT IS ALSO A GOOD POLITICIAN. WOLFF: MR. VICE PREMIER, THERE IS A QUESTION THAT TROUBLES MANY OF US.

IT IS THE FACT THAT WE HAVE MANY AREAS IN COMMON BUT WE STILL HAVE NO DIPLOMATIC

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RELATIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, BOTH OF US HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH OUR COMMON ADVERSARY. WE HAVE EXCHANGED AMBASSADORS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND SO HAVE YOU. HOW CAN WE RECONCILE THIS? WE ARE TWO PEOPLE WHO WANT TO GET TOGETHER TO BETTER DEAL WITH OUR COMMON ADVERSARY. HOW CAN WE MOVE FURTHER TO GET

TOGETHER SO THAT WE HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS NOT ONLY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 PEKING 2085

NODIS

WITH OUR ADVERSARIES BUT ALSO WITH OUR FRIENDS, AND WE  
CONSIDER YOU A FRIEND.

TENG: THE THING THAT THE RUSSIANS FEAR THE MOST IS  
NORMALIZATION OF (CHINESE) RELATIONS WITH THE US AND  
THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP  
WITH JAPAN. THEY ARE DOING THEIR UTMOST TO OBSTRUCT  
THESE TWO THINGS. I THINK THAT IT IS EASIER TO COME  
TO AN AGREEMENT AND TO TAKE THE SAME STEPS IF WE LOOK  
TO AN AGREEMENT AND TO TAKE THE SAME STEPS IF WE LOOK  
AT THE QUESTION FROM THE POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC POINT  
OF VIEW. THE ONLY OBSTACLE BETWEEN US IS THE ISSUE OF  
TAIWAN. I WANT TO BE CANDID WITH OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS  
AND TO SAY THAT ON THIS ISSUE THERE CAN BE NO CON-  
CESSION SINCE THIS INVOLVES OUR OWN SOVEREIGNTY.  
AS FOR THE SPECIFIC MODALITIES WE CAN CONSULT EACH  
OTHER ON THESE MATTERS, BUT ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE  
WE MUST ABIDE BY THE THREE CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZA-  
TION. THERE IS NO ROOM FOR FLEXIBILITY. IT IS  
IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO RELAX OUR POSITION IN THIS  
REGARD.

WOLFF: I BELIEVE THAT STATEMENTS OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF  
OUR GOVERNMENT ARE IN LINE WITH THE SHANGHAI

COMMUNIQUE. I DON'T THINK THAT VERY MUCH SEPARATES  
US IN OUR THINKING. WE DO NOT WANT TO INTERFERE IN  
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THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF YOUR COUNTRY AND WE DO NOT WANT TO INTERFERE IN A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE IN TAIWAN AND YOUR GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, THERE ARE CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WE HAVE HELD OVER THE YEARS. YOU SAID THAT WE SHOULD BE FRANK. SOME HAVE SUGGESTED USING THE JAPANESE FORMULA. BUT THIS IS NOT A FRANK SOLUTION TO THE ISSUE. IT IS ONLY COSMETIC AND DOES NOT REALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM. IT IS HARDLY AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION OVER THE LONG RUN. MERELY TO SAY THAT WE HAVE A LEGATION OR A TRADE OFFICE THAT HAS A SEPARATE FUNCTION -- THAT IS NOT ENOUGH. THE SOLUTION MUST GO BEYOND THE QUESTION OF THE NAMES WE ATTACH TO VARIOUS OFFICES. AS THE VICE PREMIER HAS SAID, THERE ARE SERIOUS WORLD PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT US. WE NEED TO AGREE ON THE SPECIFICS OF JOINT ACTIONS THAT WE CAN TAKE TOGETHER, NOT ONLY TAIWAN BUT IN COPING WITH THE CHALLENGES OF THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS IMPORTANT FOR THE US AND FOR THE WORLD. THERE IS AN EXPRESSION IN THE US: "YOU SHOULD NEVER LET A SMALL FLY SPOIL A WHOLE BOWL OF SOUP." WE SHOULD NOT LET THIS ONE SMALL FLY SPOIL OUR BOWL OF SOUP.

TENG: UNFORTUNATELY, THE QUESTION IS NOT SUCH A SMALL FLY. IT IS MUCH BIGGER THAN THAT. FRANKLY, WHEN WE SAY THAT WE AGREE TO THE JAPANESE FORMULA WE ARE ALREADY MAKING A VERY BIG CONCESSION. BY THE SO-CALLED JAPANESE FORMULA, AFTER YOU ABROGATE THE TREATY WITH TAIWAN, WITHDRAW MILITARY FORCES AND SEVER YOUR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS YOU CAN STILL MAINTAIN NONGOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS IN TAIWAN AS THE JAPANESE DO. THIS WILL NOT AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF THE US. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF YOU LOOK AT THE QUESTION FROM THE POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW IT IS IN THE GREAT INTEREST OF US BOTH IN DEALING

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WITH THE SOVIET UNION IF WE CAN NORMALIZE RELATIONS.

DE LA GARZA: I WOULD LIKE TO ASK IF THERE IS ANY EFFORT BEING MADE BY YOUR GOVERNMENT, ASIDE FROM THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH THE US, ANY EFFORT OF A NONMILITARY NATURE TO UNIFY TAIWAN WITH THE MAINLAND. DO YOU HAVE ANY DIRECT CONTACTS WITH THE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN?

TENG: SO FAR THERE ARE NO OFFICIAL CONTACTS, BUT WE KNOW A LOT OF PEOPLE THERE. IN FACT, CHIANG CHING-KUO WAS MY CLASSMATE.

DE LA GARZA: WOULD'N'T IT BE EASIER - I KNOW THIS IS AN INTERNAL QUESTION, BUT WOULDN'T IT BE EASIER IF BROTHERS ON TAIWAN AND ON THE MAINLAND COULD GET

TOGETHER THEMSELVES AND NOT DEPEND ON THE ATTITUDE OF  
THE US?

TENG: IF THE US WITHDRAWAS FROM TAIWAN THEN WE CAN  
SETTLE THE QUESTION OURSELVES IN OUR OWN WAYS. IN OUR  
HISTORY THEREHAS TWICE BEEN COOPERATION BETWEEN THE  
KUOMINTANG AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE  
FIRST TIME WAS IN THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION WHEN SUN  
YAT-SEN COOPERATED WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE  
SECOND PERIOD OF COOPERATION TOOK PLACE WHEN JAPAN  
INVADED CHINA. EVEN AT THAT TIME THE TWO PARTIES WERE  
VERY HOSTILE TO EACH OTHER. THIS SHOWED THAT WHEN  
CONFRONTED WITH THE SAME NATIONAL PROBLEM THE  
CHINESE PEOPLE CAN DEAL WITH IT. SINCE THERE HAS  
ALREADY BEEN COOPERATION TWICE WITH THE KUOMINTANG,  
CAN YOU RULE IT OUT THE THIRD TIME? WE HAVE OFTEN  
SAID TO AMERICANS THAT IN OUR EFFORTS TO SETTLE THE  
TAIWAN ISSUE AND TO REUNIFY THE MOTHERLAND WE WILL  
RESPECT REALITIES AND WE CAN BE FLEXIBLE IN THE  
MEANS OF SETTLEMENT. GIVEN THIS ATTITUDE I AM SURE  
THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO FIND A SETTLEMENT  
SATISFACTORY TO ALL.

WOLFF: I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT ALL OF US BY SAYING  
THAT THAT IS A VERY ENCOURAGING STATEMENT.

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FOUNTAIN: AS THE RANKING DEMOCRAT ON THE INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR THE  
HOSPITALITY ACCORDED US DURING OUR VISIT TO CHINA.  
YOUR PEOPLE HAVE DISPLAYED THE FRIENDSHIP THAT WE  
ARE ACCUSTOMED TO BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US. THE  
PEOPLE OF THE US HAVE A WARM SPOT IN THEIR HEARTS  
FOR CHINA. IN THE US AS YOU KNOW WE OFTEN HAVE  
POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND WE ARRE NOT ALWAYS SURE OF WHO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 5 PEKING 2085

NODIS

WILL BE IN THE GOVERNMENT. YOU HAVE SAID THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT CANNOT GO AGAINST THE CHINESE PEOPLE. WE ACCEPT THIS. WE HOPE THAT YOU CAN MAINTAIN PATIENCE IN OUR JOINT EFFORTS TO REACH NORMALIZATION. I HOPE THAT YOU REALIZE THAT UNDER THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES WHILE THE PRESIDENT IS THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE HE MUST DISCUSS MATTERS WITH THE LEGISLATURE AND IS SUBJECT TO THEIR INFLUENCE. WE APPROPRIATE THE FUNDS. BOTH THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATIVE REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA. IT IS NO EASY TO CHANGE PUBLIC OPINION IN THE US BUT I THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY VANCE AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. I HOPE YOU UNDERSTAND THAT WHILE WE ARE MOVING TOWARD NORMALIZATION WE WOULD LIKE TO MOVE AT THE SAME TIME IN OTHER AREAS SUCH AS THE EXCHANGE OF VISITS. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK ONE QUESTION. YOU SAID THAT THE ONE THING THE POLAR BEER FEARED MOST WAS NORMALIZATION. WHAT WOULD BE THE IMPACT ON RUSSIA OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AND SIGNING OF A TREATY OF MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE US.  
TENG: I THINK THAT THE FORMALITIES OF NORMALIZATION ARE NOT IMPORTANT, WHETHER TO HAVE A TREATY OR NOT. THE REALITIES OF NORMALIZATION WILL SPEAK LOUDLY.  
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THOUGH CHINA IS A POOR COUNTRY, FAIRLY BACKWARD IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, WE STILL HAVE OUR OWN STRENGTH. IF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE NORMALIZED THE SOVIET UNION MUST BE MUCH MORE CAUTIOUS STRATEGICALLY. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT CHINA IS BEING PLAYED AS A PAWN. OF COURSE, CHINA WOULDN'T LIKE TO BE A PAWN. BUT THE SOVIET UNION WANTS TO SEPARATE CHINA FROM THE US BECAUSE THIS MAKES IT EASIER FOR THE SOVIETS TO DEAL WITH YOU AND WITH EUROPE AND WITH JAPAN. YOU SHOULD NOT ONLY REMEMBER THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS ACCUSING CHINA VIOLENTLY EVERY DAY. THE SOVIETS ALSO WANT THE APPEARANCE OF CONCILIATION WITH US SO AS TO BLUFF YOU. I WON'T GO INTO THE DETAILS BUT MANY TACTICS ARE EMPLOYED. BUT WE KNOW THEIR INTENTIONS SO WE JUST IGNORE THEM. THE SOVIET UNION

PLAYS MANY SMART TRICKS. YOU HAVE DEALT WITH THE  
SOVIET UNION A LONG TIME AND SO HAVE WE.

WOLFF: WE SHOULD LEARN FROM YOU.

TENG: WE SHOULD LEARN FROM EACH OTHER. I THINK THAT  
ALL AMERICAN POLITICIANS, INCLUDING YOU WHO ARE CON-  
CERNED WITH GLOBAL QUESTIONS, ESPECIALLY IN THE ASIA AND  
PACIFIC REGION, I HOPE YOU REALIZE HOW IMPORTANT  
NORMAL RELATIONS ARE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY  
AFTER WHAT HAS HAPPENED RECENTLY IN AFGHANISTAN  
AND VIETNAM. I HOPE YOU WILL PONDER THIS QUESTION  
CAREFULLY. SINCE YOU STUDY PROBLEMS OF THE ASIA AND  
PACIFIC REGION YOU KNOW THE ROLE OF THE REGION IN  
SOVIET STRATEGY. THE SOVIET DESIRE IS TO ESTABLISH  
A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA. IT WANTS TO  
INCLUDE THE WHOLE REGION IN ITS ORBIT. WE HAVE  
OPPOSED THIS SCHEME. NO ASIAN COUNTRY, INCLUDING  
INDIA, DESIRES TO ACCEPT THIS PROPOSAL FOR A COLLECTIVE  
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SECURITY SYSTEM BECAUSE THE SOVIETS' INTENTION IS  
VERY CLEAR. NOW THE SOVIET UNION IS USING VIETNAM  
AS ITS PAW TO SNEAK INTO ASEAN IN ORDER TO REALIZE THE  
OBJECTIVE OF ESTABLISHING A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM  
IN ASIA. THE ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE AWARE OF THIS  
OBJECTIVE. VIETNAM HAS STATED ITS INTENTION TO  
JOIN ASEAN, WITH CONDITIONS ATTACHED. RECENTLY IT  
DROPPED THESE CONDITIONS BECAUSE IT IS BENT ON SNEAKING  
INTO THE ORGANIZATION. THUS IT IS NOT ADVISABLE THAT  
YOU KEEP YOUR EYES ONLY ON THE SITUATION IN AFRICA  
AND THE MIDDLE EAST. THE RUSSIANS ARE ALSO QUICKENING  
THEIR STEPS IN ASIA. IT IS NOT ONLY AFRICA AND THE  
MIDDLE EAST WHERE THE SOVIET UNION HAS TAKEN NAKED  
ACTIONS BUT ALSO ASIA. SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR FORCES  
POSE A THREAT TO JAPAN. PEOPLE MAY THINK THAT IT IS  
MAINLY IN THE NORTHERN PART OF JAPAN THAT THE SOVIET  
NAVAL AND AIR FORCES POSE A THREAT AND MAKE SHOWS OF  
FORCE, AND THAT THE THREAT IS DIRECTED AGAINST  
CHINA. IT MAY BE TERRIBLE BUT WE ARE NOT AFRAID.  
THERE IS SOME TALK IN THE WORLD THAT THE SOVIET UNION  
IS ENCIRCLING CHINA, BUT CHINA IS NOT AFRAID OF  
ENCIRCLEMENT. WHEN YOU LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF THE  
CHINESE REVOLUTION WE HAVE GROWN IN PERIODS OF ENCIR-  
CLEMENT AND HAVE BROKEN A LOT OF ENCIRCLEMENTS. THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES IN VIETNAM IS OF  
COURSE DIRECTED AGAINST CHINA BUT IT IS DIRECTED ONLY  
AGAINST CHINA? CAMRANH BAY IS QUITE A DISTANCE  
FROM CHINA. IT CAN POSE NO REAL THREAT AGAINST CHINA EVEN  
IF IT CAN CUT OFF COMMUNICATIONS, BUT THE THREAT IS  
MUCH BIGGER AGAINST JAPAN, AGAINST SOUTHEAST ASIA  
AND AGAINST OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES.

WOLFF: IT CAN CUT OFF OIL SUPPLIES TO JAPAN.  
TENG: YOUR SEVENTH FLEET WON'T FEEL VERY COMFORTABLE  
EITHER. A PROBLEM LIKE THIS IS OF GLOBAL CONCERN.  
IT IS NOT ONLY AN ASIAN QUESTION OR A SOVIET THRUST  
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AGAINST CHINA. SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR FORCES IN  
THE EAST, THEIR FLEETS IN THE EAST ARE ABOUT THE SAME  
STRENGTH AS IN THE NORTH SEA OR THE ATLANTIC. THEY  
ARE FAR STRONGER THAN THE SEVENTH FLEET. BOTH VIETNAM  
AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE DOING THEIR UTMOST TO DENY  
THEIR EXISTENCE OF SOVIET MILITARY BASES IN VIETNAM BUT  
THE MORE THEY DENY IT THE MORE CLEAR IT IS THAT THERE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 5 PEKING 2085

NODIS

ARE SOVIET BASES IN VIETNAM AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION  
CONTROLS VIETNAM. VIETNAM HAS ALREADY BECOME THE  
CUBA OF THE EAST. THERE IS NO NEED FOR THE SOVIETS  
TO BUILD UP NAVAL AND AIR FORCE BASES IN VIETNAM  
BECAUSE THE US HAS ALREADY BUILT THEM.  
WOLFF: THAT WAS THE BIGGEST FOREIGN AID PROGRAM WE  
EVER HAD.  
TENG: THEY ONLY HAVE TO USE THEM, NOT BUILD THEM.  
THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM TO  
WORLD STRATEGY ARE FAR GREATER THAN WHAT HAS HAPPENED  
IN AFGHANISTAN. WE HAVE ADOPTED A SERIOUS ATTITUDE  
IN COPING WITH THIS QUESTION. YOU KNOW THAT I HAVE

TOLD SOME FOREIGN FRIENDS THAT ONLY AFTER VIETNAM TOOK TEN STEPS, WHEN IT WAS TAKING THE 11TH STEP, THEN CHINA BEGAN TO TAKE ITS FIRST STEP IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. SO THERE IS NO TRANQUILITY IN THE WORLD SITUATION. THE SITUATION IS NOT STATIC. THE SOVIET UNION WILL TRY TO SNEAK IN WHEREVER POSSIBLE AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. WE MUST MAKE CONCRETE EFFORTS TO COPE WITH THEM.

BURKE: I ACCEPT THE FACT THAT BOTH COUNTRIES ARE INTERESTED IN NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK THREE QUESTIONS. FIRST IF THE TAIWAN QUESTION REMAINS UNRESOLVED HOW LONG WILL IT BE BEFORE YOU TAKE ACTION TO REUNIFY TAIWAN WITH CHINA. SECOND, IF

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WE WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS, WHAT IS THE FUTURE FOR THE ANTI-PRC PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN TAIWAN? WHAT GUARANTEES ARE THERE FOR THEM? AND THIRD, IF WE WITHDRAW OUR COMMITMENTS WOULD NOT THE ANTI-PRC PEOPLE NEGOTIATE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THUS CREATE AN EVEN GREATER PROBLEM FOR ALL OF US THAN IF WE NEGOTIATE NORMALIZATION AND WORK OUT OUR DIFFERENCES LATER?

TENG: BY WITHDRAWAL OF THE US I REFER TO OUR THREE CONDITIONS: THE WITHDRAWAL OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL MILITARY FORCES AND INSTALLATIONS, AND BREAKING THE TREATY OF MUTUAL DEFENSE. THEN THE US WILL HAVE POLITICALLY WITHDRAWN FROM TAIWAN AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE WILL BE LEFT TO SETTLE THE ISSUE BY THEMSELVES. THE US CAN STILL MAINTAIN UNOFFICIAL RELATIONS. THEN THE CHINESE PEOPLE WILL BE LEFT TO SETTLE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS BY THEMSELVES. YOU REFERRED TO CERTAIN PEOPLE IN TAIWAN WHO ARE AGAINST THE PRC. I THINK YOU ALSO NOTICED THE FACT THAT IT IS STATED IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE THAT ALL CHINESE PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES HOPE FOR REUNIFICATION. I SAID ALREADY THAT THERE HAS TWICE BEEN COOPERATION BETWEEN

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE KUOMINTANG. LET US SKIP OVER THE FIRST TIME AND LET ME TELL YOU ABOUT THE SECOND WHICH TOOK PLACE AFTER TEN YEARS OF WAR BETWEEN US. CHIANG KAI-SHEK HAD KILLED MILLIONS OF CADRES AND PEOPLE BUT WHEN THE JAPANESE BEGAN THEIR AGGRESSION WE CAME TOGETHER. OF COURSE, LATER WE FELL APART AGAIN. THIS SHOWS THAT THERE MAY BE CHANGES IN ATTITUDE OF TWO FORCES WHICH ARE PRESENTLY ABSOLUTELY HOSTILE TO EACH OTHER. AS I SAID, WE BELIEVE THAT WE CHINESE CAN FIND A WAY TO REALIZE THE REUNIFICATION OF THE ISLAND. IN SEEKING WAYS TO

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SOLVE THE QUESTION E WILL FACE REALITIES. NOW THE CRUX IS THAT SOME PEOPLE HOPE THAT CHINA WILL UNDERTAKE A COMMITMENT NOT TO USE FORCE TO LIBERATE TAIWAN. WE CANNOT COMMIT OURSELVES ON THIS QUESTION. WE CANNOT UNDERTAKE THIS COMMITMENT BECAUSE IT IS A MATTER INVOLVING SOVEREIGNTY. AS TO WHEN AND HOW WE LIBERATE TAIWAN IT IS OUR INTERNAL AFFAIR AND NO OTHER COUNTRY CAN POKE ITS NOSE INTO IT. SPEKING CANDIDLY, IF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WERE TO UNDERTAKE THIS COMMITMENT IT WOULD BLOCK THE WAY TO A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM, INCLUDING A SOLUTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS. RECENTLY THE U GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN A MORE POSITIVE SAND ON THIS QUESTION. IT WAS REPORTED THAT THE US WOULDSELL SOME PLANES TO TAIWAN, THEN LATER IT WAS REPORTED THAT YOU WOULD NOT SELL THE PLANES TO TAIWAN. I THIK THIS IS VERY POSITIVE. IF SUCH AN ACTION IS TAKEN IT WILL OBSTRUCT REUNIFICATION NEGOTIATIONS AND SETTLEMENT BY PEACEFUL MEANS. IF PEACEFUL MEANS ARE IMPOSSIBLE THEN ARMED FORCE WILL HAVE TO BE USED. BOTH CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND CHINAG CHING-KUO WANTED TO REUNIFY THE COUNTRY THROUGH ARMED FORCE, TO RECOVER THE MAINLAND BY ARMS. WE CANNOT UNDERTAKE ANY COMMITMENT ASTO HOW TO ACHIEVE THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN, BUT WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO CREATE CONDITIONS TO SOLVE THIS QUESTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS. SOME PEOPLE ARE WORRIED ABOUT SOVIET MEDDLING IN TAIWAN. WE ARE NOT WORRIED. FIRST THERE IS THE EXISTENCE OF THE PRC WITH A POPULATION OF 800 MILLION. IF THE JAPANESE FORMULA IS FOLLOWED AND RELATIONS ARE NORMALIZED BOTH JAPAN AND THE US WILL STILL MAINTAIN NON-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. JUDGING FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE KUOMINTANG THEY WILL NOT EASILY FALL INTO THE HANDS OF THE SOVIET UNION. EVEN IF THIS HAPPENS WE HAVE WAYS TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION. IF THERE WERE A SOVIET PRESENCE ON TAIWAN AND WE USED FORCE I DON'T THINK THE US WOULD OPPOSE

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IT. I THINK YOU POSED SOME VERY GOOD QUESTIONS. IT IS GOOD TO CONSIDER ALL ASPECTS. WE HAVE ALSO CONSIDERED THESE QUESTIONS.

GUYER: I THINK WE HAVE COVERED THE SUBJECT VERY WELL. MANY OF US ARE HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME TO SEE, TOLISTEN AND TO LEARN. WE HAVE BEEN VERY IMPRESSED WITH THE VITALITY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND THEIR SPIRIT OF

UNITY. IT WILL BE A TRAGEDY IF WE DO NOT FIND A WAY  
TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN US AND TO CEMENT OUR  
RELATIONS BECAUSE I THINK WE BOTH HAVE A GREAT FUTURE.

TENG: I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND TO ALL OF YOU MY  
APPRECIATION FOR YOUR VISIT. IT HAS BEEN USEFUL TO  
EXCHANGE VIEWS CANDIDLY. I BELIEVE THAT I HAVE  
EXPLAINED MYSELF CLEARLY AND I BELIEVE THERE IS MUCH  
FOR ALL AMERICAN POLITICIANS TO DO FOR NORMALIZATION.  
WE APPRECIATE EFFORTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THIS  
DIRECTION AND WE HOPE YOU CAN DO MORE. OF COURSE,  
I HOPE YOUR PRESIDENT WILL TAKE MORE RESOLUTE ACTION  
THAN MR. NIXON DID.

WOLFF: THANK YOU MR. VICE PREMIER.  
WOODCOCK

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